

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-14 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 EA-12 EUR-12 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 IO-14  
L-03 NASA-02 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02  
PA-02 DOE-11 CEQ-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-15 NRC-07  
DOEE-00 /176 W

-----107094 211531Z /46

P 211424Z FEB 78  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6207  
INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 02653

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PARM, CCD  
SUBJECT: CCD: EXCERPTS FROM INDIAN OPENING STATEMENT  
OF FEBRUARY 19, 1978

REF: STATE 042947 (NOTAL)

1. INDIAN OPENING STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 14 IS TOO  
LENGTHY TO TRANSMIT IN ENTIRETY SO EXCERPTS ON NON-  
PROLIFERATION AND COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN, AS REQUESTED  
REFTEL, ARE PROVIDED BELOW. REPORT FOLLOWS SEPTTEL.

2. COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN (CTB)--I WOULD NOT LIKE TO GO  
INTO THE MOTIVATIONS WHICH HAVE PROMPTED THE THREE  
NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES TO START NEGOTIATIONS ON CTB SINCE  
LAST YEAR. THE FACT THAT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE STARTED IS  
ENOUGH FOR US. WE BELIEVE THAT A CTB TREATY IS CENTRAL  
TO THE CESSATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, PARTICULARLY IN  
ITS QUALITATIVE ASPECT. INDIA WOULD REJOICE ALONG  
WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD IF AND WHEN THE TRILATERAL  
NEGOTIATIONS LEAD TO A RESULT WHICH WOULD BE SATISFACTORY  
FOR ALL OF US. HOWEVER, WITHOUT IN ANY WAY TRYING TO  
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MINIMIZE THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF AN AGREEMENT ON CTB AS  
SOON AS POSSIBLE, IT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT A CTB  
TREATY WOULD NOT BY ITSELF LEAD TO THE CESSATION OF THE  
QUANTITATIVE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. IN THAT RESPECT THE  
CTB TREATY SHOULD BE PROPERLY SEEN NOT AS AN END IN ITSELF  
BUT AS A MEANS TO ACHIEVING THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF A  
WORLD FREE FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS. FURTHER, WE ARE CONVIN-

CED THAT A CTB TREATY, WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF FRANCE AND CHINA, WHILE WELCOME AS THE FIRST STEP, WOULD NOT BE TRULY EFFECTIVE UNLESS AND UNTIL THESE TWO NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES ARE ALSO BROUGHT WITHIN ITS FOLD. IT IS INDISPENSIBLE THAT THIS ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM IS GIVEN SUFFICIENT IMPORTANCE IN OUR DELIBERATIONS.

- THE INDIAN DELEGATION WOULD STUDY CAREFULLY THE RESULT OF THE TRILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON CTB. WE WOULD TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN THE CCD TO WORK OUT A TREATY WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL SINCE, AS MANY OF MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES HAVE POINTED OUT, ANY MEASURE IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT SHOULD HAVE THE BACKING OF THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. AS IN THE PAST, AN EXPERT FROM INDIA WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE AD HOC GROUP OF SEISMOLOGICAL EXPERTS. INDIA HAS BEEN MAKING CEASELESS EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTING. WE HAVE NOT AND WE DO NOT INTEND TO CARRY OUT ANY NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS. OUR NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAMME IS WEDDED ENTIRELY TO THE PEACEFUL UTILIZATION OF THE ATOM. THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, MR. MORARJI DESAI, HAS REPEATEDLY SAID THAT EVEN IF THE WHOLE WORLD DECIDED TO HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS INDIA WOULD NOT HAVE THEM.

- AS IS WELL RECOGNIZED AND UNDERSTOOD BY ALL, VERIFICATION IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS. MY DELEGATION IS OF THE OPINION THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE UNCLASSIFIED

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RIGID AS REGARDS THE MEANS OF VERIFICATION. INSISTENCE ON ONLY ONE TYPE OF VERIFICATION OR A SET OF VERIFICATION METHODS WOULD ONLY REDUCE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION. VERIFICATION SHOULD BE A JUDICIOUS COMBINATION OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL MEANS, EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND DATA, CONSULTATIVE BODIES, ETC. THE CREDIBILITY OF DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS IN OUR VIEW RESTS ON TRUST, AND TRUST BEGETS TRUST. IF ONE IS TO START ON THE PREMISE OF SUSPICION AND DOUBT, NO WORTHWHILE DISARMAMENT AGREEMENT WOULD BE ACHIEVED. FURTHERMORE, VERIFICATION SHOULD NOT BECOME A MEDIUM OR PRETEXT TO INFRINGE ON THE SOVEREIGNTY AS WELL AS SECURITY AND OTHER INTERESTS OF STATES.

- MY DELEGATION FULLY AGREES WITH THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF SWEDEN, MADAME THORSSON, THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TWO HIGHEST PRIORITY ITEMS, VIZ., CTB AND CW, SHOULD BE MULTILATERALIZED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. BOTH THE CO-CHAIRMEN HAVE REAFFIRMED THAT THE CCD IS A NEGOTIATING BODY. IF SO, THE CCD SHOULD BE ENABLED TO FUNCTION TRULY AS A NEGOTIATING FORUM. THIS WOULD MEAN THAT THE CCD, AND LATER THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED

NATIONS AS THE HIGHEST POLITICAL FORUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SHOULD HAVE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY THE PROPOSED DRAFT AGREEMENTS IN DETAIL AND TO INCORPORATE WHATEVER CHANGES MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO ENSURE THEIR UNIVERSAL ACCEPTANCE.

3. NON-PROLIFERATION--HOWEVER, THE QUESTION ARISES AS TO WHETHER THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD CONTINUE TO LIVE UNDER SHADOW OF THE THREAT OF A NUCLEAR WAR PENDING THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AN OBJECTIVE WHICH, UNHAPPILY, DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE AROUND THE CORNER. AN IMPORTANT MEASURE TO PROMOTE AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE AND SECURITY COULD BE THE OUTLAWING OF THE USE OR THREAT

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-14 CIAE-00  
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-----107118 211532Z /46

P 211424Z FEB 78  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6208  
INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR ALL TIME TO COME. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE U.N. HAS ALREADY DECLARED IN ITS RESOLUTION NO. 1653(XVI) INTER ALIA THAT THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS CONTRARY TO THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TO THE LAWS OF HUMANITY AND THAT ANY STATE USING NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS TO BE CONSIDERED AS COMMITTING A CRIME AGAINST MANKIND AND CIVILIZATION. MY DELEGATION IS OF THE OPINION THAT THIS DECLARATION SHOULD BE REAFFIRMED AT THE SPECIAL SESSION AND MADE APPLICABLE ALSO TO THE THREATS TO USE SUCH WEAPONS. NO DISTINCTION SHOULD BE MADE AS REGARDS THE INTENDED VICTIMS OF THE USE OR THREAT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, FOR THESE WEAPONS AND THE SYSTEMS OF THEIR DELIVERY ARE INTERCONTINENTAL IN NATURE, AND WOULD NOT MAKE ANY DISTINCTION AS TO WHETHER A PARTICULAR REGION HAD BEEN SOLEMNLY DECLARED A NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONE OR NOT. MY DELEGATION WOULD EVEN GO A STEP FURTHER

AND PROPOSE THAT THE VERY POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS  
SHOULD BE DECLARED UNLAWFUL. THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN  
DISCUSSING FOR SOME YEARS A PROPOSAL TO BAN CERTAIN  
WEAPONS WHICH ARE EXCESSIVELY CRUEL OR INDISCRIMINATE IN  
THEIR EFFECTS. WHAT WEAPONS ARE MORE INDISCRIMINATE AND  
CRUEL IN THEIR EFFECT THAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS? VANDEN HEUVEL  
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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:**  
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**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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